1949—THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY—1950
A REVIEW AND A BRIGHT FORECAST

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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THE PROOF!

U.S. plotted Reich army 16 mos. ago

By Max Werner

WERE West German Chancellor Adenauer handed a rebuke because of his plea for a West German army, a comedy of errors would take place. His government was undoubtedly convinced that it was invited and encouraged to demand rearmament. He has done nothing but echo the voices from the west recommending a German army.

For more than a year West German politicians have read reports from Washington, London and Paris asking for the reconstruction of German military power as necessary and urgent. Sixteen months ago, on Aug. 6, 1948, the highly reliable **U. S. News and World Report** gave this account of the Washington scene:

> **United States military men, who have been shaping U. S. policy in Germany, favor rebuilding of a German military force as an offset to the Russians. The military attitude is that the Germans are more ready to take on military obligations than are the French.**

Men around Adenauer could read from London in the summer of 1948 a complaint of the great British military writer, Gen. J. F. C. Fuller, that there is still no German army marshalled in the west:

> **The truth is that without a powerful German army as partner, the western block is strategically a meaningless expression. Therefore it would be fatal to involve our army in the defense of the Rhine.**

Gen. Fuller has his private whims, but he is the teacher to the masters of British strategy. He said that without a cover by a German army the British do not intend to move.

COMRADES: Certainly, West German politicians have read with utmost attention the conclusions of the leading French expert on Germany, Robert d'Harcourt, in the pages of the **Revue de Defense Nationale**, organ of the Ministry of Defense:

> **The Germans enter the front of western democracies against red totalitarianism as comrades in arms. The west envisages today not merely to give back to Germany her economic power, but to request soldiers from her.**

From voices like these the conservative West German politicians expected big things to come. It was what they heard in the last two weeks that gave them the final reassurance. On Nov. 25 **U. S. News and World Report** stated from Washington that:

> **Original U. S. plan to turn Germany into a sheep pasture is revised into a secret plan to rearm the Germans into a powerful nation.**

On Nov. 30 Arthur Krock reported in the **N. Y. Times:**

> **. . . Western Germany . . . will supply armed German manpower for the battle near or on German soil. This can be achieved only by establishing a German army.**

On Nov. 28 **Newsweek** reported that an influential group of U. S. Army officers urged re-establishment of the German armed forces:

> **The group feels . . . the United States must rely on Germany as the main source of continental manpower.**

ALL IN FAVOR: Meantime in a speech in Boston Gen Lucius L. Clay pleaded for a composite military force of western nations with German troops taking part.

When Secretary Johnson said there was "no intention to rearm Germany," the Alsop brothers wrote in their column Nov. 30:

> **The fact should be noted that Johnson's statement flies flat in the face of the professional assessment of the western military chiefs, including the French.**

The gist of this assessment is quite uniform. Under the title "German Army? Generals say Yes," the current issue of **U. S. News and World Report** brings from Paris the opinion of high U. S. military:

> **Now, can we defend western Europe from the Russians? No, not without a West Germany Army. We've got to have the Germans.**

According to **Newsweek** both French army leaders, Generals de Lattre de Tassigny and Revers, are for German rearmament, and so is Field Marshal Montgomery. And while the leading British conservative papers like **Observer, Sunday Times** and **Economist** advocate a German army some French papers already speak of U. S. measures for German rearmament.

KOLOSSAL! For West German politicians this campaign in the west had the sweetness of an invitation and the authority of a command. It was too much for them to hesitate further; they could not afford to lose tempo. On Nov. 29 Adenauer still rejected a West German army; on Dec. 3 he demanded it.

The men of Bonn would be of course less than human had they not grabbed the opportunity, at once and with both hands. The campaign in the west for German rearmament incited them to throw away their former cautiousness.

The technique is well rehearsed; the German Foreign Office and the Reichswehr were reared in the dialectics of the fight for rearmament. German politics returns to the vicious circle of the twenties-thirties.

Calling all progressives to 1950

For three days last week-end Elmer A. Benson (above), national chairman of the Progressive Party, presided over sessions of the Progressive Party National Committee—analyzing the party's 1949 performance and hammering out a program for 1950. On Sunday night the committee members went back home—full of fight and hope for the future of a progressive America. For details, p. 3.

PROFILE OF PAUL DOUGLAS

How foul can the Fair Deal get?

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IS PEACE PERNICIOUS?

The cold war hits the NYU campus

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THE MAILBAG

Wallace and Williams

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Henry Wallace's statements formulating a new religion for modern America as distinct from the religions of communism, capitalism, catholicism or colonialism are a positive contribution toward unity in the struggle against war and fascism. But they do not go far enough in meeting the chief religious problem of our time. This problem is not so much one of formulating doctrine, as of developing techniques to enlist the mass religious dynamic in the struggle for brotherhood and justice proclaimed by our religious heritage.

A lifetime has been devoted to tackling this problem by Rev. Claude Williams of Alabama, whose analysis of institutionalized religion in the pamphlet **Religion: Barrier or Bridge to a People's World?** explains the real sources of ideological conflict in the modern world. In his work in the South Williams has shown the progressive nature of the religious dynamic of the common people, and that it is institutions more than doctrines that have diverted it into escapism, intolerance, ignorance and acceptance of the status quo. He has devised techniques not to convert people to a new faith but to return them to the source of their accepted faith—namely, the struggle to meet human need.

Wallace's search for an ideological basis of unity must be supplemented with Williams' techniques to enlist the religious dynamic of the common people in this struggle.

(Rev.) John W. Darr Jr.

All that glitters . . .

CHICAGO, ILL.

I was sorry to hear Henry Wallace stress the strength of monopoly capitalism in his latest speech here. I was also disturbed by his apparent discouragement about the future.

Our Chicago area is one of the great bases of monopoly power. We who live here are well aware of the enemy's power. Yet we continue to build the Progressive Party which has as its goal nothing less than the end of monopoly domination of America. If we do not expect to arrive at this goal by 1950, we do hope to reach it quite a bit earlier than 2,000 A.D. Encouraging words from our party's leader would help in these tough times. If Mr. Wallace finds it hard to speak such words with sincerity today perhaps he should examine more closely the increasing inner rot of monopoly capitalism and pay less attention to its glittering facade. The boys behind the mahogany desks in the front office may look imposing, but it's the men in the shops who produce the goods.

Please, Henry, an end to gloomy predictions. This isn't going to be the Century of the Common Corporation. In your heart you know that.

Katherine DeWese

Coffee: Yea and nay

CLEVELAND, OHIO

I enjoy your Pots & Pocketbooks column very much. About that coffee business, I also am for making boiled coffee your way. Here is a suggestion: try using the fine or drip coffee; it goes much farther.

Mrs. J. Smid

Charlotte Parks comments: "I emphatically agree." Ed.

SCAPPOOSE, ORE.

The consensus of honest and well informed medical opinion is that coffee is a habit forming and a health corrupting beverage. You devote a double column to hints how to utilize the narcotic essence of the available coffee supply to the last atom; but not a slightest hint to coffee fiends that the happiest solution is a total abstinence from this narcotic.

Vincent Noga
(an ex-coffee fiend)

Foul air

CHICAGO, ILL.

It's bad enough that we housewives are subjected to all kinds of trash coming over the airwaves these days—the soap operas, pie throwing contests, etc. But when it gets to the stage of broadcasting open bigoted remarks about various nationalities, I think it's time to speak out.

Radio shows like Amos and Andy, Beulah, characters like Luigi or Mrs. Nussbaum and worse are open insults. However, in recent weeks I've heard more vicious things: reference on one show to the "Ethiopian in the woodpile"; a suspected murderer in a mystery show was an Italian gardener because "Italians are hotheads and gangsters."

I'd like to urge GUARDIAN readers to protest these things directly to the radio sponsors who are very receptive to audience opinions.

Cynthia Isenberg

Our nauseous culture

HAMPTON, IOWA

We have been working here in Iowa for some time to better our mental health facilities. I have talked to some of the mentally ill themselves and, believe me, I know how very much our bad movies, poor magazine stories and nauseous radio programs have contributed toward their downfall. The average "normal" person is able to do his own choosing to a great extent, sifting the wheat from the chaff in his reading and entertainment. But the children who come from poor and broken homes are unable to make the necessary distinctions.

Mrs. R. L. Scantlebury

Epitaph

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Having recently celebrated Armistice Day, now Thanksgiving and soon Christmas, one theme seems to pervade all three, and that is peace. If we are only paying lip service to the word, we might as well, here and now, pick out an epitaph for this old world of ours, for example:

FROM ADAM TO ATOM
R. I. P.

Arthur Don Sher

Printer's label

PORTLAND, ORE.

We want you to know how much we appreciate your use of the label of the Allied Printing Trades Council. The International Typographical Union is maintaining the great Printers' Home at Colorado Springs, Colo. The ITU also provides for a pension of $16 per week at the age of 60 and after 20 years membership, a mortuary benefit up to $600 and a school for the education of apprentices.

Your use of the Allied label makes it possible for the ITU to carry on this fine humanitarian program.

George E. Brewster, Chairman
Allied Label Promotion League

The Shah and the GIs

NEW YORK, N. Y.

As a veteran who served two years in the Persian Gulf Command, I read with interest your account of the Shah of Iran's visit here to plug for a nice, juicy loan and arms.

Yes, I remember well the tragic poverty of the Shahinshah's people—dirt, squalor and illiteracy in contrast to his imperial highness' four Teheran palaces, a hoard of crown jewels considered so vast in value as to be unknown.

If the ordinary Iranian, poverty-stricken, desperate and starving, raised a kick, the Shah's police screeched "red plot" and swung into action to quell the "disturbance" with bloodshed. And now the Shah asks for more dough to keep down those "communists" within and asks for armaments to battle his northern neighbor, the Soviet Union.

We throw arms to Greece, Turkey, China and Iran. But, the same guys in Congress who vote these funds cry bloody murder when a federal bonus is suggested for the veterans of World War II. The Progressive Veteran, a monthly paper put out by progressive ex-GIs (Box 282, Forest Hills, N. Y.), has been pushing for consideration of a bonus for the past year.

Arthur Kortheuer

The Foley Sq. record

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Let me use this occasion to remark upon your excellent coverage of the Foley Square trial, particularly your use of excerpts from the actual record. Since returning to the west, I have had occasion to tour major Pacific coast cities, delivering talks to groups of lawyers, lay organizations and mass meetings. Outstanding in this experience has been the fact that almost nothing is known generally of the proceedings and events that actually occurred at Foley Square. People to whom excerpts are read from the actual record are astounded, so grossly contrary is Judge Medina's conduct to prevailing notions of American judicial behavior and principles of fair play.

Richard Gladstein

Mr. Gladstein was one of the five defense lawyers in the recently concluded Foley Square trial. Ed.

The Co-ops

CUMBERLAND, WIS.

There must be something wrong with the private enterprise system. If it is so perfect, why are co-ops gaining so much headway? The slogan of the National Farmers Union is: "Produce for use and not for profit." Socialists, communists, and technocrats all believe in the co-operative ownership of property. The co-ops seem to be holding their own and are establishing more stores, feed mills, fertilizer plants and various other enterprises every year. They have grown so powerful that private enterprisers are fearing that they may usurp their business. Time changes everything, so it is possible that man may yet live in peace with his fellowmen.

Chas. Beaulieu

Bullseye

RENSSELAERVILLE, N. Y.

Sebastian Barr's Nov. 7 review of The Vital Center is the best one I have seen of that book. I look forward to articles signed by him.

L. A. Eldridge, Jr., M. D.

"Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Junior Red Riders?"

Report to readers

Peace vs. bookends: Our gift suggestions

AT this moment—unless you have a heart of stone or a pocketbook as flat as the Democrats' platform—you are undoubtedly struggling with your holiday gift list.

May the editors of the GUARDIAN make a suggestion?

When you get through figuring it all out—$5 for greeting cards, soandso for stamps; $4.50 for Argyle socks for him; $7.50 for one of those new fiddle-formed purse flaconettes of Tabu for her; $2.48 for a little-gangster submachine gun that shoots pingpong balls (guaranteed not to break light bulbs or windows) for Butch; $3.98 for a Little Mother's Five-in-One Doll Set for sister; and $3 for bookends for Aunt Emily.*

AT this point, take a deep breath and add it all up. Then figure out a sum equal to, say, 5 or 10% of your total gift outlay as a contribution to the Progressive Party's $250,000 mass fund drive, starting this week.

On the next page, you will see what the Progressive Party is undertaking now to "make 1950 Progressive."

Here let us take a few paragraphs to say why we think you ought to chip in now—as handsomely as you can afford and a bit better if possible—to make the Progressive Party click in 1950.

IN 1948 the Progressives of America, behind Henry Wallace, put Progress on the election agenda.

Until we got in the fight (not the GUARDIAN's editorial "we," but we progressives as a group) FDR's New Deal had been forgotten. The Republicans and Democrats were alike in so many respects that the only real argument was over who was going to drive the gravy train. Then Wallace stepped up and put the issues of peace and progress into the argument.

Well, as FDR used to say, we won the schedule but we lost the Yale game in '48. The voters voted for Taft-Hartley repeal, for civil rights, housing, expanded social security, for 52-20, jobs and peace—our program, pan-handled with pre-election purpose by the Democrats.

Where are all these promised gains today?

Truman and the 81st Congress have batted 1.000 against peace. Civil rights are in the worst shape they have been in since Simon Legree was a pup. Instead of repeal, there was a Taft-Hartley sellout; government "fact-finding" boards have taken over collective bargaining; the "Fair Deal" has fomented civil war in a labor movement that ought to be in there punching for jobs and wage gains.

Rent control and housing are a joke! Even the Fair Deal's pious declaration the other day against discrimination in public housing (which it opposed in Congress!) is a joke, since the Fair Deal housing bill calls for only 810,000 units in six years.

FOR 1950, the Progressive Party is resolved to mobilize on every level to win peace, add housing, lick jimcrow, lower prices, aid the farmer, crush Taft-Hartley, elect progressives. (If by chance you should discern that the initial letters in this program spell w-a-l-l-a-c-e, call it an anagram for progress.)

If every reader of this appeal would pause right here, peel off at least $1 and put it in an envelope, here's what would happen:

That $250,000 mass fund drive would be over the top by Christmas!

Here's how:

Fund raisers figure that if every individual in a typical cross-section of ordinary Americans (that's us) determines to give $1 to something, the average contribution turns out to be $3 apiece!

How come?

It's simple: the bigger bankrolls invariably chip in five, ten or $25 and sometimes, in a burst of enthusiasm, a C-Note or so, with the result that your minimum $1 magically averages out to $3.

Just put your buck(s) in an envelope and send it to Progressive Party, 56 W. 45 St., New York 19, N. Y.

That's our Christmas hint. Do it NOW.

Yours for Progress in 1950,

THE EDITORS

***Regarding Aunt Emily's $3 bookends: mightn't she be just as pleased with the year-'round gift of a subscription to the GUARDIAN for only $1? It's savings like this that make contributions possible. See Page 11 for gift subscription orders.**

PP Executive Committee meeting

The theme: 'Make 1950 progressive' First goal: $250,000 by Feb. 15

By John T. McManus

WITH the theme "Make 1950 Progressive," the National Committee and state leaders of the Progressive Party in a three-day meeting Dec. 3-5 in New York, geared the party for a program of intensive organization and political activity on all fronts during the coming year.

An attendance which reached a peak of several hundred for some sessions of the meeting appraised in detail the results of the 1949 elections, added significant new goals to the Progressive program and voted to conduct

a mass fund drive for $250,000 between Dec. 15 and Feb. 15 to start the ball rolling by Progressive Party convention time, Feb. 24-26.

Principal new legislative goals include introduction in the present Congress of bills calling for a five-year, $50,000,000,000 public works and resources development program with emphasis on projects in the south and west; the passage of the Marcantonio Bill providing for unemployment benefits of $35 a week for 52 weeks.

THE VOTE IN THE SOUTH: On the organizational front, the PP leaders voted unanimously to participate with other agencies in a drive to register at least a million new Negro voters in the south for the 1950 state and congressional elections.

The party will also press the 81st Congress for extension and strengthening of rent controls; $100 a month old age pensions; comprehensive national health and medical care; enactment of anti-poll-tax, anti-lynch and FEPC legislation and strengthening of other civil rights laws; repeal of Taft-Hartley; passage of the Brannan farm plan; and reduction of taxes on small incomes.

Special resolutions were adopted dealing with peace (see text this page); opposing internationalization of Jerusalem and rearming of Arab countries against Israel; calling for an end to renazification and anti-Semitism in Western Germany, a congressional investigation of activities of U. S. Zone officials, and reaffirmation of the Potsdam Declaration guaranteeing disarmament and demilitarization of Germany; and urging participation by individuals in the civil rights mobilization called by the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People in Washington Jan. 15-17.

OFF WITH THE BEARDS: The 1949 election analysis, presented by PP Executive Secretary C. B. Baldwin, observed that the elections continued to evidence the illusion in the minds of the voters that the Truman Democrats are sincerely devoted to the people's welfare and represent the only political force that can successfully challenge reaction, "which the people identify with the Republican Party."

However, the report noted, "there is a discernible move away from the Democrats and toward our Party among those voters who have experienced a substantial deterioration of their living and working conditions after one year of the promised 'Fair Deal'."

The report cited Lawrence, Mass., where Rev. Amos Murphy, Progressive candidate for mayor, got 20% of the vote in a three-way race. Lawrence has suffered 50% unemployment under the Fair Deal.

SIGNIFICANT GAINS: Other instances cited were three New York Negro districts in which American Labor Party emerged as the top party in 1949 from third place in 1948; the Detroit City Council election in which Charles Hill, Negro candidate, rolled up 116,000 votes, 21% of the total; and Richmond, Va., where Mrs. Senora Lawson, running for the state legislature, got more votes (4,600) in Richmond than the Progressive Party candidate got in the entire state in 1948.

A special committee on the Negro vote, which met for several sessions prior to the national committee meeting, offered the following comment on the significant shift of Negro voters to Progressive Party candidates:

"It would be strange if, in light of the transparent betrayal of the civil rights promises of Truman, they did not move in the direction of withdrawing the support they have in the past given

to the Democrats, as long ago they wisely decided to withhold their support from Republican reaction . . ."

RED SCARE LESS SCARY: The 1949 report noted a decline in red-baiting of the Progressive Party as compared to 1948, particularly in New York and Detroit, where Progressive candidates were regarded as real threats to the old parties.

In N. Y. districts where red-baiting ran highest, the highest votes for ALP candidates resulted.

"Clearly," the report on 1949 concludes, "the red-baiting technique tends to lose its effectiveness among people who have deep-seated grievances which have not been met by the old parties and who are convinced, both from our words and more importantly from our deeds, that we are seriously and sincerely on their side."

At its Sunday afternoon session, the meeting heard an off-the-record talk by Henry A. Wallace and then adjourned for a reception to Progressive Party Chairman Elmer Benson, former governor of Minnesota, who has just returned from a visit to Poland and the Scandinavian countries.

4 steps toward peacemaking

Resolution on peace adopted unanimously by the National Committee of the Progressive Party meeting:

1 Immediately propose to the United Nations a treaty to outlaw the atomic bomb as a weapon of war. Whatever the ultimate resolution of the problem of international control, it is imperative that a first step be taken by outlawing atomic warfare at once. The security of the people of America and the world demands that the full moral force of a UN treaty condemn the use of this weapon of mass annihilation as a crime against humanity and any nation that uses it as a criminal under international law.

2 Immediately recognize the new and existing government of China and establish normal trade relations with it. The facts of life will not be changed by ignoring their existence. America cannot afford to repeat in China the folly it committed by withholding recognition of Russia for 16 years, particularly when it is clearly in the interests of both countries to keep an open door and friendly relations.

3 Remove the existing restrictions on trade with eastern Europe and Russia which have reduced that trade to a mere trickle. In its own self-interest, America cannot afford to cut off this vast market for the products of our farms and factories which can assure jobs for American workers, particularly in heavy industry, and an outlet for American agricultural surpluses.

4 Propose a four-power agreement which will reaffirm the Potsdam declaration by providing that each of the four powers shall prevent and prohibit the establishment of any German armed forces or military formation in its zone. Such an agreement will remove the threat of German rearmament by east or west and allay the fear that a rearmed Germany will again threaten word peace.

We offer this as a minimum program which will create an atmosphere in which real peacemaking is possible. Each one of these steps is in the best interests of the American people. We believe that the great majority of the American people will support these positive steps toward safeguarding their own security and peace.

The PP has gained ground wherever a big effort has been made

By Barney Conal

THE mistake of the detractors of the Progressive Party was that they looked back to third parties of the past, saw the new party as just another version and wrote it off despite its 1,100,000 votes in its first effort. It must have upset wiseacres who examined its vote in the off-year 1949 election to find that, instead of being wiped out, the Progressive Party gained ground wherever it made a concerted effort, even against overwhelming odds.

TWO BIG FACTS: Had they looked closer they would have learned the following:

- The new party is now established on the ballot in such key and decisive states as New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Maryland, Michigan, California, Wisconsin and Washington, and has easy access to the ballot in at least 25 others.
- Its gains among the Negro voters since 1948 have been striking.

Where it concentrated and put up effective candidates known to the local voters it increased and in some places doubled and trebled its 1948 vote. This was as true in Richmond, Va., as among New York City's Negro and Italian voters; as true among the Polish-American voters of Detroit as among the textile workers of Lawrence, Mass.

THEY CAME TO HEAR: What struck knowing politicians even more than the Progressive vote was the way Progressive and American Labor Party candidates drew crowds wherever they appeared, the attentiveness of the voters and, even more, the degree to which the candidates of the old parties found it necessary, as in 1948, to cut slices of the Progressives' program for themselves where their need for votes was great.

Despite hysteria and intimidation, this young party was responsible for the reversal or dropping of undemocratic proposals in state after state.

It killed the witch-hunting Broyles bill in Illinois, the Ober law in Maryland, the Tumulty-Mahorter "loyalty-oath" law in New Jersey, the Feinberg school witch-hunt law in New York.

SPARK-PLUG ROLE: In a score of states it led willing and grateful citizens to battle against suppressions of the rights of minorities, such as the case of the Ingram family in Georgia and the Trenton Six in New Jersey.

It sparked the mounting opposition to U. S. rearmament of Germany. Today it is admittedly more responsible than any other single group in this country for cooling down the people toward the Administration's cold war.

Through its lone representative in Congress, Vito Marcantonio of N. Y., it exposed, hobbled and fought off the Taft-Hartley gang and smoked out the backsliding Democrats before the organized labor movement they pretended to represent.

Finally, it was the propaganda-power of this small new party that harried the Truman Administration into enacting at least some half-liberal measures lest the Democrats lose the FDR ball altogether.

Quite a record for a party that is only 16 months old!

"I don't know if it'll scare the Russians, but it sure scares the hell out of me."

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

THE NATION

Uranium hoax blacks out Pearl Harbor

AT the height of the war Lt. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, in charge of atomic development, had a theory about who our enemy was. Last week he revealed that his program was "distinctly anti-Russian."

The General explained: "We never trusted them (the Russians) one iota and our security was directed at them almost entirely. We weren't worried about Germany or Japan. We were worried about Russia." (Pearl Harbor Day passed almost unnoticed last week.)

PRESS RELEASE: The General was testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The committee, comparatively quiet for many months, sprang to action and to headlines last week when they heard Fulton Lewis Jr., a radio commentator, interview G. Racey Jordan, a former army major, who spent the war as a lend-lease expediter at Great Falls, Montana.

The Major produced a diary in which he had set down his reactions to the shipments going to Russia. He said he saw large quantities of suitcases filled with maps. (He admitted these were readily available at service stations.) There were blueprints plainly marked: "Oak Ridge." A note on White House stationery accompanied one of the suitcases, the Major said. It was addressed to "Mikoyan," now Deputy Premier of the U.S.S.R.; it included the remark: ". . . Had a hell of a time getting this away from Groves," and was signed "H. H." The use of initials seemed to be the subtlest espionage device used, but Major Groves said he quickly deciphered them and became convinced they stood for the late Harry Hopkins, adviser to President Roosevelt.

He also saw pounds of uranium and jugs of heavy water (an ingredient of the bomb) on their way to Russia.

WALLACE, TOO: Fulton Lewis Jr. in a later broadcast rang in Henry Wallace, charging that the Progressive Party leader and former vice-president had over-ruled efforts to keep atomic materials from the Russians.

Chuckles

Before the week-end the Major's case had crumbled. Gen. Groves testified that Henry Wallace had nothing to do with shipments to Russia, that Harry Hopkins had never approached him to release anything to the Russians, that the most uranium the Russians could have received would total two pounds and was so inferior that it made him chuckle to think of our Russian allies trying to use it. Uranium in that pre-atomic era was used in the manufacture of gun barrels and ceramics.

GEORGE RACEY JORDAN
Heavy water for headlines

The General chuckled again when he was asked about the jugs of heavy water. He said it was like saying "that the Russians had obtained ten Hope Diamonds. Heavy water was very scarce here."

"HIGHLY IMPROBABLE": Wallace termed the affair part of an "unremitting effort to tarnish the name of Franklin Delano Roosevelt." He asked for a chance to testify before the committee.

Acting Chairman of the committee Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) was plainly embarrassed. He said: "Personally, I think there are so many discrepancies it is highly improbable that many of the things Mr. Jordan said occurred did occur." Another member, Burr P. Harrison (D-Va.), added: "I will go further. Mr. Jordan's story is inherently incredible."

SQUIRMS: But while the committee members equirmed beneath the debris of the toppled structure, GUARDIAN learned it was they who had set it up. In a telephone interview George Racey Jordan told GUARDIAN that Fulton Lewis Jr. had been tipped off by "some members of the commiteee" that he (Jordan) "had some files in his basement." Lewis called Jordan, breakfasted with him, talked until 3:30 the next morning. Then Lewis called the FBI; they questioned Jordan, and "took everything away."

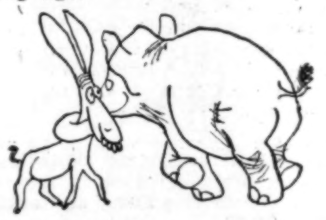
"If it hadn't been for that," the Major continued, "I probably never would have taken the stuff out of the basement." He sounded a little wistful: "I just kept those notes for myself. If I thought anybody would want them I would have kept decent notes." Of the shipments to Russia he said: "I thought it was all perfectly all right then. If I hadn't I wouldn't have let them go through. I was a soldier in the First World War, too, you know. I just spot-checked some suitcases and made some notes. I didn't know anything about the Manhattan Project. I was only a poor major."

The "poor major" is now assistant to the president of the American Pacific Industrial Corporation, construction engineers who do $20,000,000 worth of business yearly building office buildings in Puerto Rico, power houses in Brazil.

POLITICS

Frozen GOPs wish they were in Dixie

SNOW was in the air but to politicians it seemed like spring and the air was filled with wooing. There was talk of marriage between the young Dixiecrat donkey of the south and the venerable northern elephant thought by everybody to be past the sparking age.



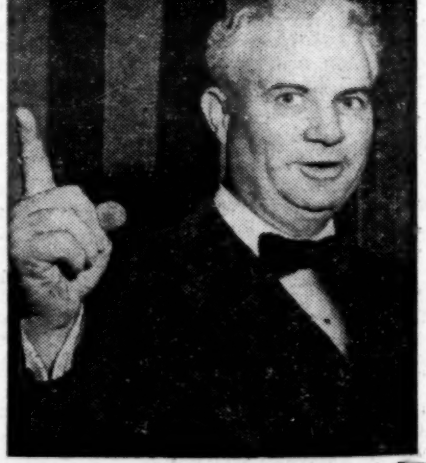
Bert Andrews of the New York **Herald Tribune** telephoned Sen. John W. Bricker (R-O.) for confirmation of the affair. Admittedly, it was to be a marriage of convenience.

CONFESSION: Bricker outlined a new party to Andrews. He described its purpose: "If we are going to maintain our two-party system . . . then we have got to give the people two parties between which they can make an honest choice."

Since 1948 Progressives had been pointing out the difficulty in making such a choice.

The party would include Dixiecrats and Republicans but would take the name of neither. At its head Sen. Bricker would like to see former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower and Sen. Robert A. Taft.

BRICKER CAN HAVE 'EM: Rep. Stephen M. Young (D-O.) said he would like to see a Dixiegop slate of Bricker for President, Rankin for Vice-President. He added gleefully: "That would mean we could give John Rankin and other southern demagogues . . . to Bricker."



JOHN W. BRICKER
Shall we make it official?

Walter S. Buel of the Cleveland **Plain Dealer** reported: "Shrieks of alarm have been heard from some anguished Republicans." One told Buel: "What's such a thing as that going to do to us in a state like Ohio? . . . What happens

(Continued on following page)

Jennings Perry

Gaseous diffusion

THE most important thing this week was a four-foot loblolly pine. It was the 200,000,000th tree planted in the TVA's vast forestry program, and it will stop a gully in Kentucky.

The thing of least importance made a louder noise. It was the uranium salts export story planted in the air by radio hatchetman Fulton Lewis Jr. to stop (Henry Wallace named it so exactly) Roosevelt.

I'll take the tree: it is young and growing and beautiful. The scandal story is old and ugly and sterile. You can go and touch the tree and watch it live. The story is a hoax. As you watch it, it withers.

THESE people will never learn, it seems, that it is too late to stop Roosevelt by these tactics. If they should come in with 40 former majors willing to state under oath that not Hopkins, not Wallace, but Roosevelt in person cleared not these innocuous salts but a working model of the atom bomb itself through Great Falls airgate to Moscow in those war days, the effect would not be the one they seek.

Roosevelt would not go up in a puff of smoke. They would not be rid of him. Some few—the same few — would glare and grind their teeth. The rest either would not believe the 40 majors on their oath or would agree among themselves that if Roosevelt did it it must have been all right.

These are hard lines for these people but I have no sympathy for them. You do not have to have sympathy for people whose views and methods you do not like merely because they persist in putting their heads against a stone wall. They are certain that the Roosevelt the many cherish is a myth. They have convinced themselves that the only way to check a social movement they fear and despise is, by some hook or crook, to attaint the character and liquidate the prestige of the legendary figure still the emblem of the social movement. The theory is as sorry as the task is hopeless.

THE truth is that it is too late to stop Roosevelt now by any means. Fulton Lewis may chop and W. Pegler may chop and Upton Close may chop, and all they will get for their pains in the end will be broken hatchets. They might as well be hacking at Thomas Jefferson or Abe Lincoln.

Indeed, the lesson has been left in history for them by their predecessors who did, generations on end, hack at Jefferson and Lincoln and are now forgotten. The lesson is plain not only for these columny criers but for the groups and interests whose spleen they speak to read.

The Democratic party never did amount to much till at last it left off grouching about "Bloody Abe" and began to write his humanitarian doctrines into its own platforms. And if the Republican party hopes ever to come back in this land, it will have to lean even harder on the once-reviled name Jefferson than, with its states rights allies, it thus far has.

THIS was to have been the Atomic Age in which the deserts would be made green. Those reluctant pilgrims among us who have bogged down at the stage of gaseous diffusion—who stubbornly fancy that by deprecating Roosevelt himself, or by shrilling at Henry Hopkins and Henry Wallace whom he loved and trusted, the ghost that haunts them may be laid—are wasting their breath, their venom and their invention. Roosevelt has become as indestructible as his works.

The 200,000,000 trees TVA has planted over the gullies are a part of his works—are they not?—and make the land green while we are waiting for the atom to graduate from the arsenal. This shade is no myth: you can watch it live.

And while it lives, the romantic tales of all the former majors Fulton Lewis can find, and all the slimy imputations that can be squeezed out of them, will not smirch Roosevelt nor wear his good name down.

(Continued from preceding page)
to us if we get linked up with the southern Bourbons?" Southern Bourbons wondered what would happen to them if they got linked up officially with the Republicans.

PAGE "ESQUIRE": Many declined to take the new party talk seriously, but regarded it as a warning that the Dixiegop coalition might be mobilized in congressional debate this coming session as in the last.

Whether it was a design for a party or a congressional tactic, it indicated a new division in U. S. political life. Conservatives were splitting. Some favored the liberal clothing of the Fair Deal or a facsimile: these included the Truman followers, the ADA members. (See **Douglas Profile**, p. 7.) Still others thought it time that conservatives dressed like conservatives with the stiff collar of Hoover or the floppy hat of Rankin.

The lines in the old parties were shifting; that shift was noted in the club houses as well as in the top strategy commitees.

Taft-Hartley surrender?

The next session of Congress was three weeks off, but aready there were the familiar signs of retreat and surrender on Taft-Hartley.

In Boston House Majority Leader John W. McCormack predicted to the Massachusetts state convention of the CIO: "The 81st will not be able to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act."

NICE GENTLEMAN: Out in Milwaukee an erstwhile CIO leader told a labor relations conference sponsored by the University of Wisconsin that labor shouldn't even try to repeal the act.

Clinton S. Golden, once a leader in the Steelworkers Union and now a top labor adviser to the Economic Cooperation Administration, said: "The more rational approach would be a calm effort to see how it has operated and then make an intelligent effort to amend it." He also said labor should give up its fight for the closed shop.

"I suppose," he added, "many of my old friends in the labor movement will now say: 'You are a nice genteman, but you probably are slipping because you have been hanging around too much with management'."

Senate Majority Leader Scott Lucas, who voted for the Taft-Hartley bill in June, 1947, was forgiven last week by the Illinois branch of AFL Labor's League for Political Education. Reuben Soderstrong, president of Illinois State Federation of Labor, said: "We're going to work day and night to get Scott Lucas elected." Lucas is expected to announce his candidacy when he visits his home town, Havana, Ill., on Dec. 27.

The ADA and the bulwark

The ADA had celebrated a victory in Philadelphia. The **Nation** exulted: "More startling, the Philadelphia city government, for 50 years a bulwark of GOP patronage (and corruption), was penetrated by militant Democrats, spearheaded by Richardson Dilworth and Joseph C. Clark, both leaders in Americans for Democratic Action."

City Treasurer-elect Richardson Dilworth had not yet taken office last week, but announced that he would appoint as his assistant a Republican, William A. Hennegan. He explained that Hennegan had been recommended to him by four prominent bankers.

Do you have four friends? Put them in the subscription blank on P. 11

THE ECONOMY

'NEW LIBERALISM'

Pie in the sky — a little bit later

AT New York's Waldorf-Astoria last week, Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer was fascinated by a crystal ball. In it he saw the U. S. attaining an annual national income of more than $1,000,000,000,000 by the year 2000. This "fabulously high standard of living," he told the Public Relations Society of America, can be achieved only by "a progressive capitalistic society" in which "the theory of the class struggle has no place." He advocated fair shares for business, agriculture and labor.

In his outline of "the new liberalism," Sawyer ignored the sage words of the **Wall St. Journal:** "The present economic upturn is like a mere ripple on a river sweeping slowly downhill"; and the forecast of the government's own Bureau of Agricultural Economics: Continued economic decline through 1950, further slackening of consumer

spending "as the backlog demands for automobiles disappear." Auto dealers, heavily overstocked and unable to sell, last week complained that cars were being forced on them by the companies. Big auto companies which showily sent out return-to-work telegrams at the end of the steel strike were operating on reduced schedules.

Imbued with the "new liberalism," the Commerce Secretary launched an anti-monopoly campaign. The **Journal of Commerce** called it "a voluntary anti-monopoly drive," to be implemented largely by "education and cooperative effort." The **Wall St. Journal** found "nothing new" in Sawyer's program and called it "no more than a political gesture."

LUSTY WORKERS: Another contribution to the "new liberalism" came from George Baldanzi, vice-president of the CIO Textile Workers and a member of the CIO Executive Council. At a meeting of the Council of Profit Sharing Industries he urged a "plan for profit-sharing," as a solution to labor-management problems and possible solace to workers who see their wages virtually frozen while profiteering is unchecked.

Baldanzi did not explain how his plan would work. But Prof. C. L. Jamison, of the University of Michigan, made clear that under the new capitalism workers must curb their taste for shorter working hours which he called their "lust for leisure."

INACTION: The nation last week saw these instances of the "new liberalism" in action:

- Consumers were being robbed of about $7,000,000 a week by jacked-up coffee prices. Reports of drought in Brazil and of an imminent shortage enabled speculators to run up prices as much as 16c a pound. But the Dept. of Agriculture reported coffee imports this year greater than last, with prospects for 1950 also good. The government had taken no action against the speculators: "We have the free enterprise system," one spokesman explained. A sub-commitee of the Senate Agriculture Committee, however, started an investigation.
- In New York City the City Council's Finance Committee, acting on a proposal by Mayor O'Dwyer, hiked the mayor's salary by $15,000 and those of his comptroller, council president and five borough presidents by $10,000. At the same time, City Welfare Commissioner Hilliard announced cuts averaging $3 to $4 monthly in food, clothing, and other allowances for public assistance clients, reducing food budgets of one-year-olds by $2.25, of pregnant women by $2.85. The Board of Transportation flatly rejected a demand of the Transport Workers Union for raises and shorter hours for bus and subway workers.
- In Columbus, Ohio, the State Welfare Dept. announced the layoff of 116 employes, mostly in its division of aid to the aged, in order to balance its budget.

- In Sacramento, Cal., Gov. Earl Warren summoned 2,000 citizens to a conference on (1) unemployment and (2) relief for the starving agricultural workers of San Joaquin Valley. Then he called a special session of the legislature and ruled off the agenda (1) unemployment, (2) relief.

HOUSING

Landlords, relax!

A WRITER in **The Nation** on Nov. 26 concluded his articles with these words: ". . . and one of the fascinating things about Mr. Truman is the way in which, months after he has tossed off a fine generality, he unexpectedly demonstrates that he really meant it."

On Dec. 2 Mr. Truman's Administration tossed off a fine generality: Federal Housing Administration financing would no longer be advanced on any projects "the occupancy or use of which is restricted on the basis of race, or creed or color." The announcement was made at a N. Y. State Conference

(Continued on following page)

ACLU report on Peekskill

The proof is all there: the violence was planned

WHAT caused Peekskill? Can it happen again? What can be done to prevent a repetition?

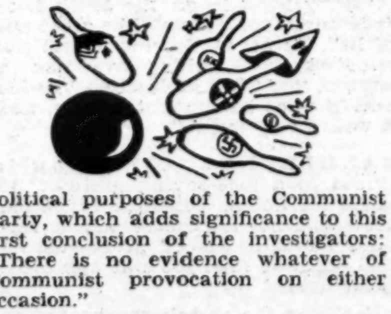
The American Civil Liberties Union, with five other sponsoring organizations, assigned four investigators to a five-week, on-the-spot survey of the two outbreaks of organized violence against Paul Robeson concerts in late August and early September. The four interviewed 96 persons, all but five of them residents of Peekskill and vicinity. Last week the ACLU released their report.

In a brief essay on the nature of the region, they note that for historical and other reasons it stands "outside the mainstream of American progress," that it is predominantly Republican, that for years local tensions have been building up because of the annual summer influx of colonists, most of whom are Jews, who outnumber the residents by nearly two to one.

BREEDERS OF HATE: The background of Peekskill was a national atmosphere of repression, of which the investigators took note: "One gains the impression that Peekskill felt the listing of the Communist Party and its front organizations as subversive, the application of loyalty oaths in federal and state employment, the trial of the Communist leaders . . . and the enactment of such laws as the Smith Act in Congress and the Feinberg Law in the N. Y. State Legislature, had placed this particular political minority outside the pale of the law. They, therefore, felt confident that the nation would applaud them for treating with violence this feared political group."

Against this background and in this atmosphere it was not difficult to incite violence. The report says: "The local press bears the main responsibility for inflaming, possibly through sheer irresponsibility, Peekskill residents to a mood of violence."

HEY, DEWEY, LOOKIT! The organizations joining with the ACLU in the report are the Council Against Intolerance, Americans for Democratic Action, American Jewish Congress, American Veterans Committee and National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People. These groups stress that they are "wholly opposed" to the



political purposes of the Communist Party, which adds significance to this first conclusion of the investigators: "There is no evidence whatever of Communist provocation on either occasion."

Other conclusions:

"Terrorism was general against all who advocated freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and preservation of constitutional rights. . . . The evidence proves beyond question that the veterans intended to prevent the concerts from being held. . . . Effective police protection at the first concert was deliberately withheld. . . . Preparations to police the second concert . . . were largely a sham insofar as the Westchester County police were concerned and left the concert goers undefended. . . . County police fraternized with the rioters. . . . There is strong indication that the violence was planned and was carried out according to plan."

THE HEDGING: But while documenting these and other damning conclusions, the report completely absolves Gov. Dewey and U. S. officials of any laxity in guaranteeing adequate protection to citizens in the legal pursuit of their constitutional liberties. Because local promises of police protection were given in advance of the second concert, the report says: "Gov. Dewey and the federal authorities had no reason to believe that these 1,000 law enforcement officers would fail to perform their duty." They were "hoodwinked."

The report itself proves the charge that the violence was planned, and it seems clear that the planning could have been known at higher levels and prevented if authorities so desired.

THE CONCLUSION: What shall be done to prevent further Peekskills? Here the organizations limit themselves to four superficial proposals: there should be no restrictions on the right of peaceful assembly: demonstrations of opposing forces should not be permitted at the same time and place; there should be adequate police protection; offenders committing acts of violence should be promptly arrested. These things "should" be done; for seeing they are done, ACLU offers no suggestion.

- *In Albany, N. Y., 145 persons who attended the Paul Robeson concerts have filed damage suits against the state for personal injuries and property losses. Ten were injured on Aug. 27; 135 on Sept. 4.*

In White Plains, N. Y., the Westchester Grand Jury investigating the Peekskill violence ground on. Since Oct. 5 it has convened 17 times, has heard 71 witnesses from both sides. It would carry on at least one more month, maybe several. Twenty-five Robeson supporters refused to sign waivers of immunity. The District Attorney's office complained that the hearings already cost $50,000.

(Continued from preceding page)

on Discrimination in Housing, and had Truman's personal blessing.

"Fair Dealers" rushed out with statements hailing this evidence that Truman really meant his generalities on civil rights. Real estate men hurried to the barricades to defend segregation, uttering cries of "havoc!" and "chaos!"

IT WASN'T, REALLY: Next day FHA Commissioner Franklin D. Richards explained that the new rules would not affect restrictive covenants already in effect or put into effect before a distant deadline. They would apply only to covenants "of record," not to "gentlemen's agreements." (Since the Supreme Court ruled that recorded restrictive covenants were unenforceable by law, most landlords have resorted to "gentlemen's agreements.")

James E. Robinson, a housing official of Atlanta, Ga., relaxed. The day before he had said: "If an apartment were built on Peachtree St., I don't thing they would force us to admit Negro tenants." He was right. FHA soothed the worried landlords, said: "You can't change economics . . . The entrance of a Negro into a white section will adversely affect values."

CHICAGO CAN DO IT: Mayor Martin H. Kennelly went out to 27th and State Sts. last week to present keys to the first 17 families moving into Chicago's new Dearborn Homes. He was surprised to find some white families settled in what he thought was an all-Negro project (GUARDIAN, Nov. 7).

No drips

IN New York restaurants they were serving water only on request. Car washing was banned. Leaking faucets were being penalized at $5 each. The American Labor Party had offered volunteers in the save-the-water drive. Scarlet-lettered posters on trucks boasted: "This truck has not been washed." And still the reservoirs dropped.

Last week the city's water consumption had dropped from 1,192,000,000 gallons to 1,117,000,000 gallons. New Yorkers would have to do better or nature would have to grow kinder and wetter. The new water source, the Delaware watershed, could not be tapped until 1955.

From his hospital room Mayor O'Dwyer called emergency conferences, shied away from words like "rationing." New Jersey officials were bolder, cut water pressure for Newark and Jersey City and threatened more drastic steps if wastage couldn't be halted.

West coast smog

At the other end of the country Los Angelenos suffered from smog — the mixture of stagnant air and smoke from chimney stacks which has polluted the area since the war made their city industrial. Earlier this month many offices and factories closed; weeping and coughing workers went home early. Others passed protest resolutions. Twelve days of smog spoiled crops throughout the county. In the city petitions circulated, urging the recall of Mayor Fletcher Bowron for failing to control the menace. Pasadena residents favored the recall of county supervisors.

Like this issue? Pass it on a friend. He'll like it too.

On the banks of the bonnie Croton

New Yorkers, wondering where their next glass of water may be coming from, don't look hopefully at Croton Reservoir, one of the city's main water sources. Fences of long-buried farms have emerged (foreground), along with old roads, as the level drops steadily.

LABOR WEEK

CIO TRIALS

Off with the heads

"SO far as I am concerned those boys are through. Yes, I say to you, my friends, they are through, they are through and you are going to see to it that they are through in your industry—I know you will."

That's how CIO President Philip Murray, speaking off the record at the recent IUE convention, set the stage for the forthcoming trials of unions, state and city councils that had resisted top-level dictation in the CIO.

Trials were to be held behind locked doors. Heads of unions that had raided defendant unions would sit in judgment. CIO leaders were not deterred by the legal argument that you can't declare some act a crime, then convict a man for having committed it before it was criminal.

FIGHT TO STAY IN: Hugh Bryson, president of the Marine Cooks and Stewards, summed up for all the embattled unions. "We're going to fight like hell to stay in the CIO," he said.

On Dec. 12 the United Office and Professional Workers were to be tried; on Dec. 19 the United Public Workers. They asked Murray to permit them counsel and the right to cross-examine witnesses. Murray refused.

James Durkin, president of UOPWA, told the GUARDIAN: "If the CIO kicks us out, they'll end unionism in the field. It has taken us years to knit our membership, who come from various industries—social service, insurance, book and magazine—into one group. They want their own union. CIO raiding will result in driving them out of unions altogether or into the AFL."

Purge on the Pacific

On Dec. 19 the California CIO Council was to answer charges that it had encouraged opposition to the Marshall Plan, failed to support CIO-endorsed candidates and printed material in its paper contrary to CIO policy. GUARDIAN's west coast correspondent, Gene Richards, reported:

"Spokesmen for the state CIO council declared that national CIO has brought 'Communist-front' charges in a charter-yanking move because Regional Director Tim Flynn failed in the original plan to persuade a majority

The 'Battle of the Mural'

The cold war invades the campus at N.Y.U.

Special to the GUARDIAN

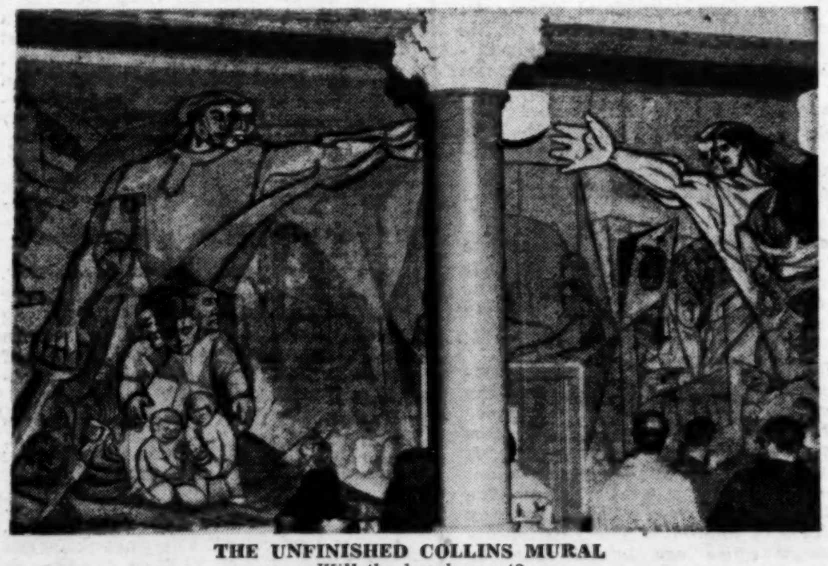
THE recent "Battle of the Mural" at New York University was strictly a put-up job by fanatical anti-communists intent on carrying the cold war to the campus.

Behind the lurid tabloid stories were these facts: Harold Collins' sketch for a "One World" mural was unanimously approved by a student-faculty contest committee last May, and the artist was ready to begin work in LaGuardia Hall, the student lounge in the School of Education.

THE TWO UNWISE MEN: On Nov. 21 the School of Education Art Club held a meeting to discuss the work. To it came Stefan Bauer-Mengelberg, a graduate philosophy student, and his guest, Gabriel Pressman, a reporter for the violently anti-Russian N. Y. **World-Telegram**. Bauer-Mengelberg's presence at the meeting was questionable, since he was not in Education; Pressman's identity as a reporter was not revealed.

(Bauer-Mengelberg, it should be noted, is a disciple of Prof. Sidney Hook of the NYU Philosophy Dept., who is a fountainhead of anti-Soviet thought. Pressman's last recorded journalistic feat was his "crashing" of the Budapest trial of Cardinal Mindszenty and his subsequent "experting" on Communist judicial techniques.)

Collins' sketch showed Soviet and U. S. workers reaching to shake hands across a UN conference table. Bauer-Mengelberg called it "vicious Stalinist propaganda." At the Art Club meeting he spearheaded the attack, along with two instructors, one of whom had brought her whole class. They were not Education instructors.



THE UNFINISHED COLLINS MURAL
Will the hands meet?

THE HUNT IS ON: The School of Education Student Council was already on record as solidly in favor of the mural. But the next day Pressman "broke" his story in the **World-Telegram** with screamer headlines proclaiming a "student revolt" against Collins' design.

The cry was taken up by other New York newspapers. Glenn Neville, chief editorial writer for the Hearst **Daily Mirror**, did a personal hatchet job; he is a close friend of NYU Vice-Chancellor Harold O. Voorhis. The day after the Neville blast, the mural sketch was removed, from LaGuaria Hall.

THE DEAN HELPS OUT: The Collins sketch was taken down without notice during the Thanksgiving holiday, when students were away. But even before classes resumed, the student body was out fighting. It received good support from Dean Ernest O. Melby of the School of Education. One student reported:

"Melby burst in on the tenth floor (administration offices) like a bat out of hell. He asked Voorhis to put the mural back. Voorhis gave him a straight 'no.' Then Melby told Voorhis exactly what he thought of him, and it wasn't very much."

DANGER NOT OVER: Voorhis agreed to a face-saving gesture: he would let Collins continue his work, but would not let the sketch or finished mural be placed in LaGuardia Hall until the final job was approved. Melby agreed.

Next day the sketch reappeared as mysteriously as it had disappeared. Students took care to put it under close guard. Letters to the **Education Sun**, student newspaper, raked the school administration for permitting the cold-war invasion and Bauer-Mengelberg for using his newspaper friend to smear the school.

Students were congratulating themselves on a victory last week, but Voorhis appeared to have more tricks up his sleeve: he wanted "certain changes" made in the mural to satisfy the administration. Young Progressives and the Student Council advised their colleagues to remain alert.

of affiliates to withdraw from the council.

"To the charge that it aided Communists against 1948 political candidates endorsed by the right-wing CIO group, the council replied that endorsements had been left almost entirely to the affiliated unions, especially when more than one pro-labor candidate was running for an office."

Next in line for attack were the Alameda County and San Francisco CIO Councils. The charges were drawn against both though no trials had yet been ordered.

CHIPPED FURNITURE: Inside the United Furniture Workers, also in the dock, a rift developed. President Morris Pizer favored staying in the CIO "at any cost." Ernest Marsh and Max Perlow, vice-president and secretary-treasurer, wanted to stay if they could keep their rights as a union. The union's executive board was to meet at the weekend to decide its course.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS

Advice to kangaroos

NINE times since the end of the war the House Un-American Activities Committee had summoned officers of the United Electrical Workers. Each call coincided with a crucial development in the union. Last week while UE battled for its life against the CIO's IUE, Julius Emspak and James Matles were called to answer committee questions about their signing Taft-Hartley non-communist oaths. The UE officers told the committee, in effect: It's none of your business whom we know, with whom we associate or what we think.

LET THOMAS ANSWER: Emspak said: "The purpose of this hearing was announced to be to find out whatever you can about people for the purpose of framing them. I don't intend to be a part of such kangaroo proceedings . . . In our organization we have one simple measure for what we do and that is: does it represent the members' best interests?"

On the oaths, Matles commented: "The affidavits speak for themselves."

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Height of Un-Americanism

He also told the committee: "It's an insult to say that I need to clear myself before such a group as this. It's up to J. Parnell Thomas to clear himself with this committee, not for me." (On Friday, former committee chairman Thomas was sentenced to 6 months in prison and $10,000 fine. He had not contested a charge of padding his payroll and accepting kickbacks from his employes. He resigned his seat in Congress; his wife said she would run for it.)

SIDE-SNIPERS: Meanwhile UE resumed talks with General Electric, which had previously refused to negotiate. Bargaining sessions with Westinghouse were to reconvene on Dec. 13. With IUE sniping at UE from the sidelines the companies were more cheerful than they had been in years.

In Canada CIO's counterpart, the Canadian Congress of Labor, expelled UE, invited IUE locals to join. All but one Canadian local had voted to stay in UE.

ANTI-WFTU

Slightly embarrassing

IN County Hall, London, British delegates to the anti-WFTU Free World Labor conference squirmed uneasily. On the one hand there were men from Cyprus and the colonies assailing British "tyranny"—and these labor leaders, being one with their government, felt affronted. On the other hand Americans were pressing hard to dominate the movement. It was a familiar predicament for British Laborites.

Finally Richard Coppock of the British Building and Wood Workers could stand it no longer. It was the conference's job, he said, "to break down the feeling of frustration of the kind that apparently exists in the colonial and under-developed countries . . . The feeling of frustration among colonial peoples is being defeated." Coppock's own frustration continued.

BUNDLE FOR BRITAIN: In the jockeying between British and U. S. anti-communist labor leaders, the U. S. won easily, securing themselves in key positions.

Michael Quill of the CIO Transport Workers irritated the British further by referring to Northern Ireland as a "slave state." He also annoyed the New York **Herald Tribune**, which offered Quill to the British. The paper suggested that "some way could be found to work him into the Marshall Plan as a sort of bonus."

Before adjourning the conference wrote a constitution and passed a flock of resolutions, among them one denouncing Franco. Elected president was Paul Finet of Belgium.

MINERS

Gopher holes

JOHN L. LEWIS whittled away at the coal operators' front. By the weekend he had broken off several splinters.

(Continued on following page)

Paul Douglas: 'Pedantic peddler of bunk and hokum'

On the lawn of the winter White House in Key West, Fla., the President last week gathered with his advisers to shape the "Fair Deal" of 1950. It was a secret meeting but, the correspondent of the N. Y. "Times" said, "it can be reported on good authority that the shape of the Fair Deal, 1950, will be much like the Fair Deal, 1949." The shape of the Fair Deal, 1949, is given here below in a profile of one of the fairest of the Fair Dealers, Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois. In future issues the GUARDIAN will dissect the role of other leading Administration figures now parading in public in false liberal whiskers. After you read this, contrast it with the Progressive Party program for 1950 on p. 3.

By Rod Holmgren
GUARDIAN Staff Correspondent

CHICAGO

LAST June Drew Pearson reported that "liberal Democrats are doing some frantic missionary work on Illinois' strong-willed Paul Douglas to steer him away from his right-wing drift." The drift continues; so does the missionary work—frantic because Douglas has been among the showiest wax models in the Fair Deal's liberal shop-window.

The mind of Paul Douglas is full of obsessions about Reds and waste of public funds. Ten years ago, when interviewing a job applicant as a member of a Labor's Non-Partisan League committee, Douglas asked the applicant if he were either a Communist or a fellow-traveler. The man said "No" to both. Douglas, turning to the other members of the Committee, said: "I'm not satisfied with these answers. They don't seem to come from the viscera."

As an alderman in Chicago's Fifth Ward, Douglas once suggested a way to save money on drawbridge tenders along the Chicago River: fire half the tenders, mount the rest on motorcycles to race from bridge to bridge as ships approached. The plan was laughed out of the City Council.

VISCERAL OBSESSIONS: In 1948, when he ran against GOP senatorial incumbent C. Wayland Brooks, Democratic Party and ADA pamphleteers depicted Douglas as a friend of labor, uncompromising fighter for civil rights and tough enemy of monopoly. In the new Senator's viscera the economy obsession ran deeper than these noble principles. Early in the session he voted for a 5% cut in the Labor and Social Security bill. Then, to newspaper applause, he proposed a 40% cut in the rivers and harbors appropriation while at the same time urging appropriation of $5,000,000 for the Chicago Assn. of Commerce and Industry's pet Calumet-Sag canal project.

An Atlantic Pact enthusiast, he made no proposals to cut the billions for foreign military aid or the Marshall Plan. But he urged "frying the fat out of our departments and agencies" when Post Office and Treasury appropriations were debated.

If ordinary constituents have deficits, that is less disturbing to the Senator. Of rent control, he said: "It will be impossible to maintain it after July 1." Of the federal health insurance program: "It is unsound economically . . . we're not ready for it yet."

But these are the headlines reporting his recent state-stumping speeches before Congress reopens: U. S. GOING TO THE DOGS FINANCIALLY—DOUGLAS; 3,500 POSTMASTERS HEAR DOUGLAS PLEAD FOR ECONOMY; LIBERALS DROOL OVER SPENDING, DOUGLAS FINDS. Observing him with kindly eye, the **Saturday Evening Post** called him a "hard-boiled idealist."

PURRING BOURBONS: Douglas made his maiden speech in the Senate after the climax of the fight over cloture and the deal by which the Democratic Party sold out its civil rights campaign pledges. When Sen. Russell (D-Ga.) mentioned that Chicago's Democratic Mayor Martin H. Kennelly had personally asked the City Council to defeat an ordinance against housing segregation on land acquired with public funds, Douglas defended Kennelly. "That ordinance," he explained, "was opposed by the mayor in the belief that it would deter private insurance companies from making large investments . . . He did not wish to impose his regulation upon private concerns."

Douglas hastened to reassure the Georgian that "we are not proposing to abolish segregation in housing or in the federal aid to education bill. We are not proposing to abolish it in the schools." As far as the army was concerned, the Democratic platform had nothing against "separate battalions and separate regiments" for Negroes.

Russell was happy. "If the platform were all construed as the Senator from Illinois is construing it," he purred, "I should feel much better about the future." Douglas kept right on construing it that way: he led the fight against an anti-segregation amendment in the housing bill.

IT'S ALL PSYCHOLOGICAL: Having campaigned vigorously for Douglas in 1948, the CIO Political Action Committee and AFL Labor's League for Political Education were certain, when he was assigned to the Senate Labor and Welfare Committee, that he would fight for Taft-Hartley repeal.

PAUL DOUGLAS
Up from the viscera

But his name turned up at the top of the list of sponsors of the now-famous five "sell-out amendments" reported to the floor early in June. The amendment he backed hardest would have authorized the President to seize properties on strike, with union officials required to order employes to remain at work at the existing wages and conditions.

This "oppressive amendment," said John L. Lewis, would "perpetuate government by the injunctive process." Douglas, a frequent speechmaker against use of the injunction to break strikes, was forced in Senate debate to admit his seizure amendment meant injunction; but, he explained, the President "could only use injunctions if seizure did not work."

"In principle, what is the difference?" asked Sen. Capehart (R-Ind.)

"A very real psychological difference," replied Douglas, who has been curiously quiet about Taft-Hartley in his "report to the people" speeches this fall. His psychological approach to the 75c minimum wage was to campaign for an escalator clause, permitting the minimum to rise and fall depending on business conditions.

HORSELAUGH IN ORDER: Last summer when Drew Pearson reported the "frantic missionary work" on Illinois' "fighting liberal" Senator, the Chicago edition of the Negro paper **Pittsburgh Courier** denounced him as a "phony liberal." Douglas was to appear before Negro organizations in Chicago to "explain" his position on segregation in the south. Said the **Courier**:

"That (appearance in Chicago) will be entirely unnecessary. The **Congressional Record** preserves his shocking and surprising utterances. It would require unmitigated gall and brazen nerve for Mr. Douglas to appear before the darker minority and vociferously announce that he is in favor of the abolition of segregation and discrimination. He is a professional politician . . . a pedantic peddler of bunk and hokum, and colored people should give him the horse laugh."

A WELL-EARNED LUNCH: Douglas has traveled far since 1933, when he wrote: "The Democratic Party is the chief obstacle in the way of a third party of farmers, wage earners and white-collar workers developing on American soil, and its destruction would be one of the best things that could happen in our political life."

He is still moving and none can say where he will end up; but recently he arrived at a Republican Union League Club luncheon, where assorted businessmen hailed him as "a statesman who is trying to help our pocketbooks." The praise was deserved.

(Continued from preceding page)

His new tactic authorized locals to tackle each company separately. Several small mine owners agreed to a settlement which gave the miners a 95c-a-day wage boost, increased pension payments from 20c a ton to 35c and changed the personnel of the pension trustee board.

The large coal operators scoffed at the agreement, described the mines as "gopher holes." They said they would never accept such a settlement. Lewis said it would set the pattern for the industry. He predicted "additional tonnage will sign."

Miners continued to work only three days a week. They would return to a full week schedule only when contracts were signed. The operators cried "dictator," asked Congress to curb the miners and threatened price increases.

THE TRIALS

HARRY BRIDGES

Schrimpf served

IN July, 1937, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins made it clear she was not interested in "further harassment" of Harry Bridges, nor did she wish to hear "inside information" about Bridges from one Henry J. Schrimpf.

Last week Henry Schrimpf had his long-deferred chance to talk about Bridges. He was a government witness in the San Francisco perjury trial of Bridges, J. R. Robertson and Henry Schmidt, of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, CIO.

WHAT HE LEFT OUT: Under gentle government guidance, Schrimpf told how he had joined the Communist Party and left it in disillusionment. He swore that Bridges was a Communist. (The U. S. is trying to prove that Bridges lied in 1945 when he told naturalization officials he wasn't a Communist.)

Defense Counsel James McInnis pounced on a significant omission in Schrimpf's story: when he was naturalized in 1943, hadn't he sworn that he was not and never had been a Communist? The question was crucial. If Schrimpf answered "yes," he would be proven a liar; if he said "no," the U. S. case against Bridges would tend to fall, since it would be demonstrated that even known Communists had won naturalization.

GET BEHIND THE JUDGE: The question also aimed at an implied pay-off to Schrimpf—naturalization in return for helping to "get" Bridges. Judge George B. Harris never let Schrimpf answer. Responding generously to a barrage of government objections, the judge ruled the whole line of questioning "irrelevant."

After four weeks of the Bridges trial, Judge Harris' resemblance to Judge Medina of Foley Square was becoming sharper. He let it be known that he was receiving much mail—praises and damns—and that "crank" letters were being turned over to the FBI and postal authorities.

Trybuna Wolnosci, Warsaw

THE ELEVEN

In Medina's wake

COUNCILMAN Benjamin J. Davis had been expelled from the New York City Council. The Council did not grant him a hearing but ruled that as one of the 11 convicted Communists he could not properly serve. ALP Councilman Eugene Connolly had not been present at the purge. Last week, announcing that he wanted to show "there is one councilman who still believes in the democratic concept," Connolly resigned. The terms of both Connolly and Davis were to expire on Dec. 31.

On Monday the New York Court of Appeals agreed to postpone the appeal of the six lawyers cited for contempt at the trial of the 11 Communists until Feb. 6. The lawyers had asked more time to prepare their case. The defense hoped the appeals of the lawyers and defendants would be heard simultaneously.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

7-YEAR PERSECUTION

Freedom fight won

SEVEN years ago a grocery store was robbed in Princess Anne, Va., by five men. Police had no clues. They arrested the nearest Negro resident, who said he had been in Norfolk with four friends at the time of the robbery. Police went to Norfolk, seized the four friends. All five were tried without benefit of counsel, sentenced to ten years on a chain gang.

Lester Tate was one of the four in Norfolk. He tried once to escape, was tracked down by bloodhounds. Punishment was suspension from a rafter, with toes just touching the floor, for five days. Then he was kept in chains for nine months. He saw four men shot by guards for complaining about the food.

FREEDOM MEANS FRIENDS: In 1943 Tate escaped to California. He settled in Los Angeles, married, got a job with the Century Metalcraft Corp., became a staunch shop worker in Local 700 of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union. Last August he was arrested on a minor charge (later dismissed) and was held as a fugitive from Virginia, which demanded his extradition.

Tate's defense was led by his union; it was supported by his employers, the Los Angeles CIO Council, Civil Rights Congress, NAACP, the **California Eagle** (Negro weekly), the **People's World** and a broad civic-labor committee. Democratic State Assemblyman Vernon Kilpatrick went to Virginia to investigate, wound up by denouncing the state's brutal penal methods. Virginia's Gov. William Tuck urged action by the FBI against Kilpatrick and all who befriended Tate.

THANKSGIVING: Last week California's Gov. Earl Warren announced his refusal to sign extradition papers and said he was convinced Tate was a good citizen.

Tate, his wife and their four children (there'll be five in March) celebrated his freedom by thanking a host of people and organizations who had won a good fight.

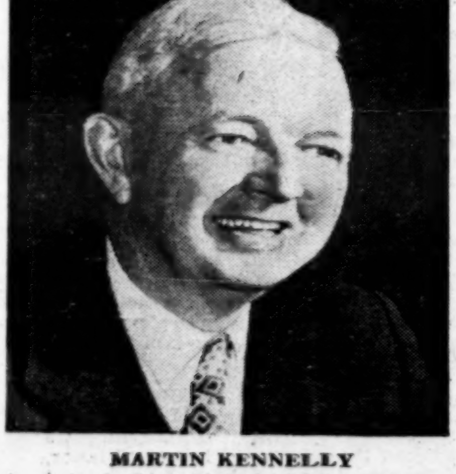
CHICAGO

Freedom: poor risk

TO insurance companies last week civil rights seemed risky, racism too much of a sure thing. In Chicago they were taking no chances on Aaron Bindman and William Sennett, whose house on So. Peoria St. was attacked last month by mobs angered because they had invited Negroes there.

First the Dubuque Fire & Marine Insurance Co. and Home Insurance Co. withdrew $7,000 worth of coverage required by the mortgage. "Too big a risk," they said. Then the Colonial Savings & Loan Assn., which holds the mortgage, said it would foreclose Dec. 1 unless new insurance was obtained.

WORD GETS AROUND: One company offered insurance; the mortgage company was informed; one day later the insurance company withdrew. Another, in Cuba, was rejected by the mortgage company as not "proper collateral." Coverage was purchased at last through out-of-town concerns. Said Bindman: "Apparently some companies don't have any faith in the ability of the Chicago police to protect our home from vandalism."



MARTIN KENNELLY
Just keep smilin'

While Mayor Kennelly and Police

(Continued on following page)

Report from Iowa

Now the CIO's going in for farm union-busting

At Washington headquarters last week the national CIO took time out from its trade union-busting activities to announce that it was all out for the Brannan Plan. How the CIO puts its pronouncements into practice is described below in a report from the farm country. Added up, it appears that the CIO, the Fair Deal's labor arm, has extended its activities into the field of farm union-busting.

By Lawrence Emery

HOW far will the right-wing leadership of the CIO go in its drive against progressives? From the heart of the U. S. corn belt comes evidence that it is intent on extending its campaign to divide the ranks of progressive farm organizations and to halt the development of farmer-labor unity.

In Iowa a long-brewing three-cornered struggle has been hauled into the open. It involves the secretary-treasurer of the State Industrial Union Council, CIO; District No. 3 of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers; and the Iowa Farmers Union, headed by Fred Stover.

HOW IT BEGAN: The **Iowa Union Farmer,** monthly publication of the farm organization, devotes a full page to the controversy which began with formation last May of the Midwest Farmer-Labor Alliance at a conference attended by farm and labor delegates from 10 midwestern states. Notably absent were several right-wing CIO leaders.

At a subsequent convention of the Iowa Farmers Union Fred Stover explained the cause of the absences, without naming names: "Their arms were so tightly wound around leaders of the Farm Bureau that we couldn't get them to Davenport."

To this criticism Ken Everhart, secretary-treasurer of the state CIO council, took exception. He wrote a letter to Stover, copies of which he sent to Farm Bureau leaders, all local unions affiliated to the council, all CIO international unions in the state, and to the head of the state AFL.

UP THE BUREAU! The letter was an attack on Stover, the Farmers Union and the new Farmer-Labor Alliance, and a defense of the Farm Bureau.

Sample arguments: "Experience has shown that farm-labor unity is merely an excuse used by certain organizations to call meetings where they can vilify and condemn the leadership of the CIO"; the founding conference of the Farmer-Labor Alliance "was called by representatives of the CIO left-wing unions, Farm Equipment Workers, United Electrical Workers and the Food and Tobacco Workers . . . These unions also follow the Communist Party line of the front organizations of this country, and are the same unions that have always created disunity within the CIO."

THE ENTWINING ARMS: The farm paper examined Everhart's charges one by one and offered a refutation of each. It denounced the theory of "guilt by association," and countered with an enunciation of "innocence by non-association":

"The real red-blooded, courageous labor unions and their leaders who are honestly and openly supporting our total Farmers Union program do not have 'their arms around Farm Bureau leaders,' nor are they scraping to the brass and braid in the Pentagon and State Dept.

"We are sure that the farm and labor leaders participating in the Farm-Labor Alliance can prove their 'innocence by non-association' with the worst anti-farm and anti-labor elements."

NO ROOM FOR CANNIBALS: "They are innocent of being stool pigeons for big business, accomplices to the militarization of America, or propagandists for the cold war. They are innocent of persecuting political minorities, suppression of political dissent, spreading racial and political hatreds and indulging in and encouraging cannibalism in unions."

Another answer to the Everhart letter came from Russell Bull, assistant director of District 3 of the Packinghouse Workers Union. He pledged continued support of his union for the Farmers Union. The Farm Bureau, he pointed out, is on the wrong side of all important issues. He found it "difficult to understand" why a Farm Bureau leader was the only farm organization representative invited to address the last state CIO convention.

"We must not permit ourselves," he wrote, "to be divided within our union on false issues that separate one packinghouse worker from another. Neither must we permit ourselves to be split off from fighting side by side with those farmers who understand that we stand or fall together."

The Packinghouse Workers represent nearly one-half of all the CIO membership in Iowa.

(Continued from preceding page)

Commissioner Prendergast continued to utter generalizations about law and order, progressive citizens acted. A labor mass meeting called by packinghouse, warehouse and auto workers heard Saul Alinsky characterize Kennelly as "a fence-sitter who wants everybody to like him; if you want action, you'll have to put the heat on the Big Smile at City Hall." The workers circulated a petition demanding a new civil-rights ordinance.

Report on UN

It may be remembered as the Unhappy Assembly

GUARDIAN UN *correspondence*

FLUSHING MEADOW, N.Y.

AS THE Fourth General Assembly galloped through its last week, chances were it would be remembered as the "Unhappy Assembly."

PEACE: On Monday the Assembly turned down the Soviet proposal for a census on atomic and conventional weapons—supported by five Slavic powers and Egypt. It adopted instead, by 44 votes to 5, a plan for a world census on conventional armaments exclusively—which won't work anyway since the Soviets oppose it. The Soviets say atomic weapons are aggressive weapons, other armaments are becoming obsolete; any plan which does not include census of A-bombs is a farce.

The west continues to repeat that A-bombs are the business of the Atomic Energy Commission. But since that UN body is deadlocked—with the blessing of the General Assembly—we are back where we came in. Soviet delegate Malik again pointed out that while a census on conventional armaments would supply the U.S. and her friends with full information on Soviet military strength, it would conceal from the world the number of A-bombs the U.S. possesses. Addressing himself directly to John D. Hickerson, U.S. delegate, Malik made an open proposal:

"Mr. Hickerson, I can assure you that, if you will agree to our proposal for the collection of information on armaments, armed forces and the atomic weapon, we will definitely reach agreement on any system of verification and control."

What Malik said in effect was ignored by the press: "Let's count our respective A-bombs, and we may find a solution to the atomic deadlock." No wonder that Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky, before going home, called this Assembly's record unsatisfactory: it had also turned down his Big Five peace pact proposal and refused to condemn the U.S. and Britain for their "preparation of a new war."

SOUTH AFRICA: On Tuesday it was South Africa's turn to be unhappy, when the Assembly approved two resolutions concerning that country's doings in Southwest Africa. The first (by 33 to 9 and 10 abstentions) requests the Union government for the fourth time to put Southwest Africa under Trusteeship and submit annual administrative reports. It was opposed by the U.S., which thought, with Belgium, France, the Netherlands and a few others, that nothing should be said before getting an opinion from the International Court of Justice. This request was the object of the second resolution, adopted by 40 to 7.

CHINA: On Thursday Kuomintang China was unhappy. Her extravagant charges against the U.S.S.R. (threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of China) were watered down. Two face-saving resolutions were approved in what was seen as a polite gesture to a dying delegation. The first calls upon all nations to keep hands off China. The second, sponsored by Cuba, Ecuador and Peru, requests the Assembly's interim committee (already boycotted by the Slavs) to examine the charges, keep an eye on the situation, and report next year. Who knows where Tsiang, delegate of the ex-Chinese Nationalist government, will be by then?

This tragi-comic debate reached its climax when Tsiang said his delegation did represent China because it had a constitution and a legislature of 700 members. Nobody knows where the 700 are; they have been moving more and more often—and rapidly.

. . . When Poland's Zebroski told Tsiang he ought to be grateful to the Slavs for refusing to participate in the debate "because if we did take part, the debate might last just a day longer, and perhaps at that time the rest of the Chinese Kuomintang Government would not exist anywhere except in Formosa under the protection of the U.S."

. . . When Jessup of the U.S. denied his country had any selfish interest in China and recalled the tons of rice the U.S. distributed to the Chinese people. He did not mention the $6,000,000,000 poured down the Kuomintang drain—possibly for reasons less than unselfish. Putting up a brave face, the U.S. was unhappy too.

ISRAEL: The vote in the Special Political Commitee for strict and formal internationalization of Jerusalem under a UN regime disappointed Israel. Supporting internationalization were the Soviet bloc, 12 Latin American and six Arab countries, with the U.S. and Britain leading the opposition on the ground (coinciding with the feeling of the UN Secretariat) that the plan cannot be implemented in view of Israel's and Jordan's hostility. The vote was 35 to 13.

At the week-end the Assembly was getting ready to vote on the committee's resolution. Pressure to change votes was being put on by the Vatican's representative cabling all Catholic countries to vote in favor, and the U.S. lobbying for abstentions and noes.

PEACE

'Speak out — cry out'

A HEAVY-SET, pasty-faced man carrying a press camera sat at the press table. He got up once, took a picture of an empty gallery, then walked out and had a few beers with a police colonel, a captain and two lieutenants. He was a photographer for New York's **Daily News**, covering the "Outlaw The A-Bomb" rally called by the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship in Madison Square Garden. He had done his job.

Inside, 13,000 people were doing theirs. They did not fill the whole Garden, so Council ushers asked them to

fill up the more expensive but unoccupied seats. Regular Garden ushers seemed outraged at the brazen display of democracy.

COLD WAR ON ICE: The Garden rally was the climax to a three-day conference on U.S.-Soviet relations, at which people talked not of making the cold war hotter but of putting war on ice altogether. The nation's press ridiculed or ignored their efforts.

The speakers came from widely separated fields to make a single point: peace. They included Juliusz Katz-Suchy, Poland's permanent UN delegate; Charles A. Hill, Negro minister of Detroit; John Howard Lawson, writer and one of the Hollywood Ten; Elmer A. Benson, Progressive Party chairman.

ALL TOGETHER NOW: Benson said: "All of us together must carry this fight. Not the Progressive Party in one corner and other groups in their own private little corners. We have a standard bearer. I firmly believe that World War III has been delayed because the people of western Europe heard and saw one man speak for peace, and realized through him that the people of the U.S. do not want war. And I think the time is coming closer when Henry Wallace must go abroad again, and speak out for peace!

"But this is for all of us, too. I say to you, Speak out for peace! Cry out for peace! Through your organization; through the Progressive Party; through every group which earnestly—and for the right reasons—desires peace."

THE WORLD

CHINA

War's nearly over

WHEN the People's Republic armies approached Chungking President Li Tsung-jen felt ill. To cure his ailment he traveled to the congenial climate of U.S. He arrived in New York last week, his "serious stomach disorder" scarcely damping his spirits. He instantly embarked on a tour of Chinatown.

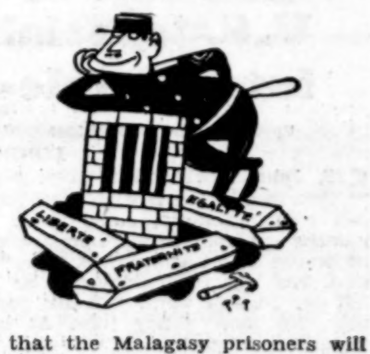
Before entering the Presbyterian Hospital he promised that when recovered he would return "to continue my fight against the Communist forces of aggression."

DELAYED RETURN? Li, however, willing, however healthy, was not likely to return to China's mainland. Before he **arrived** here, the Communists were mopping up the last Nationalist armies of consequence, the Kwangsi forces of Li's longtime partner, Gen. Pai Chung-hsi. General Pai and the remnants of his forces had evacuated to the island of Hainan. Chiang Kai-shek and his government—stripped down to 107 men to make it "mobile"—finally abandoned the mainland to retreat to the island stronghold in Formosa.

New China's President Mao Tse-tung told the 4,000,000 men and women of the victorious army that the war was practically over, that they must soon turn their efforts to industry and agriculture. The generals were to map a peacetime program for the soldiers. In the spring the troops will work at stock raising, irrigation, handicrafts, farming, building and transport and the state will establish "army producers cooperatives" in which 40% of the proceeds will go to the individuals.

HARVEST OF HEARTS: All China prepared for peace. South Koreans, under U.S. occupation, celebrated a harvest of hearts for it was "Change-of-Heart Week" in the land. The National Assn. of Converts from Communism said that its membership drive had netted 12,196 changed South Korean hearts.

The drive's sponsors said some converts had written repentant letters in their own blood. Most of the repentance, it was said, took place in police stations. The Associated Press reported: "Police in turn agreed to forget their past political misdeeds to give them a fresh start."



MADAGASCAR

Echoes of revolt

"THE UN's decision to investigate colonies," wrote GUARDIAN's Stanley Karnow from Paris, "was met with uneasy silence here." For over two years a group of elected representatives from the French island colony of Madagascar have been in jail, serving life sentences for leading a native revolt against the French colonial administration.

They were convicted solely on the testimony of four witnesses. One—who gave evidence only after being tortured—was executed before the defense could cross-examine him. The second died in a prison hospital of "uremic poisoning." The third admitted being a police spy since 1929.

This month the fourth, a Malagasy farmer, publicly retracted his testimony. In order to protect himself and his wife, he had testified under "persuasion" that he helped plan the revolt with the defendants. They were described to him by the police in advance of his courtroom appearance.

THOUSANDS OF DREYFUSES: Karnow wrote: "It appears almost certain now that the Malagasy prisoners will get a new trial. For some of them, ill in colonial jails, the question of time is important. Pressing for quick action, one left-wing paper commented: 'What shame would have fallen on our country if Captain Dreyfus had died on Devil's Island.' Agreed another: 'This is another Dreyfus case, but on the level of a whole people'."

GERMANY

Democratic Hessians

THIS was the game in Germany: boost the idea of new German army, then deny it, always work for it. Last week Konrad Adenauer, thin-lipped Chancellor Bonn, joined the sport with an interview granted to John P. Leacocos of the Cleveland **Plain Dealer.**

West Germany, he said, "should contribute to the defense of Europe in a European army under command of higher European headquarters," and should therefore receive U.S. military aid. He also demanded for the Bonn State: a foreign ministry of its own, the right to civil aviation, extension of the Ruhr Authority over the Saar and the heavy industry of west Europe.

The western powers took up their cue: they announced they would chide the Chancellor. Thereupon Adenauer publicly repeated his statements. In

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West Germany most papers objected that his timing was wrong. One said: "We don't want to be the new Hessians," In Frankfurt, the German Women's Assn. temporarily suspended its campaign against the sale of military toys after dealers threatened to stone them.

LET THEM ROLL: In Schweinfurt, center of the ball bearing industry, enterprising manufacturers were rebuilding their plants in the belief that the western Allies will soon lift conrtols on production. (The U. S. Air Force lost 900 men in two efforts to wipe out Schweinfurt.) In Washington, U. S. officials announced that industrial equipment, earmarked as reparations to Russia and stored for 20 months in the western zones, will instead be distributed among the 19 nations of the International Reparations Agency.

YUGOSLAVIA

Trial at Sarajevo

BEFORE the war some 10,000 Russian emigres lounged in Yugoslavia's cafes and in its fashionable drawing rooms. They played countless variations on the theme of how they fled for their lives from the Bolshevik revolution. It was their stock-in-trade. Many fought and died—or left—with the Germans; many others applied for Soviet citizenship after the war.

Last week ten Russian emigres sat in a Sarajevo courtroom dock. They were accused of two crimes: (1) Working for the Nazis against Marshal Tito's Partisans during the war; (2) spying for Soviet Communists against Marshal Tito's Communists after the war.

All then had become Soviet citizens, though none had returned to Russia. (Two months ago a Moscow note accused Yugoslavia of harassing Soviet citizens.)

WORM UNDER WHEEL: One defendant pleaded not guilty on either charge but finally admitted qualified guilt; one pleaded guilty on the Nazi collaboration charge; the others, guilty on both. Their general theme was that they were "forced" into espionage for Russia. The espionage was vaguely defined. They said they had sent fabricated reports on economic and social difficulties in Yugoslavia.

Father Nekludov, a Russian Orthodox priest who was to have stood trial as "chief link" to the Soviet Embassy, was found hanged before the trial in his jail cell. A note to the court president pinned to his shirt said: "I was not a spy but I realize I must be a spy for you . . . The wheel of history has passed over a worm." To his wife he wrote: "I alone am to blame, but it is also the fault of those who are making history, and perhaps even they are not to blame."

Yugoslav prosecutors asked clemency for four younger defendants; others face maximum sentences of 20 years.

France's almost-forgotten battle

Patriotic railwaymen destroying railroads: This, though most have forgotten it, is what was happening in France less than six years ago, when the French Resistance sabotaged Nazi trains bringing up guns to kill Americans in Normandy. In documentary form, with many actual pictures taken during France's occupation, the epic of these trade union allies of our soldiers is told in the French film, "Battle of the Rails," opening Dec. 26 at the Apollo Theater, New York. The film was made for and financed by the railroad workers of France, who still believe—in spite of the rearming of Germany, which could lead to a fourth occupation of France and re-enactment of the same tragedy—that their fight was not in vain. The Resistance speaks to us from the screen, asking us not to forget who it was that most selflessly risked torture and death to resist: the worker. N. Y. union workers can see the film at a special 35c admission by calling Joe Wolhandler at LO 4-7126.

BULGARIA

Trial in Sofia

IN the great reception hall of the Sofia Military Club sat Traicho Kostov, former Deputy Premier of Bulgaria and Communist Politbureau colleague of the late Premier Dimitrov. Now he was one of 11 accused of spying for Yugoslavia, Britain and the U. S.

As questioning began, Kostov was reminded of his detailed pre-trial confession, written and signed. It was not correct, he said; he wished to deny the major charges of espionage, admitting only that he had made ideological mistakes.

The court was surprised; so were Yugoslav officials in Belgrade, who had denounced the Kostov trial in advance as a "replica of the Budapest (Rajk) trial . . . with all the usual confessions learned by heart." But six other defendants, former high officials in the government, swore everything Kostov originally confessed was true.

Africa won't forget

U.S. 'specialists' swarming into trouble-torn Nigeria

Special to the GUARDIAN
LONDON

SIR John MacPherson, 51-year-old Governor of the British West African colony Nigeria, came there 18 months ago from the Caribbean where he served on an Anglo-U. S. Commission. His last reported words as he left for Nigeria were: "Thank goodness. No more fancy jobs. At last something tough."

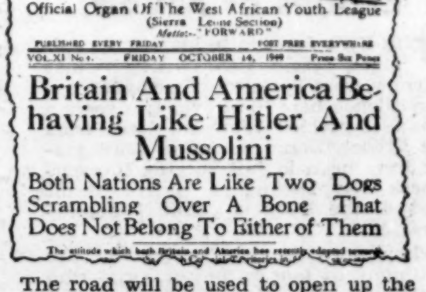
His tough assignment is holding down 22,000,000 Nigerians with the aid of about 9,000 soldiers, plus police, officered by 600 whites. Altogether there are about 2,000 whites in Nigeria, presiding over the mining and plantation labors of the "natives" who earn an average of $42 per family per year.

A situation like that takes some holding down. There were shootings in 1947, when United Africa Co. (Lever Bros.) employes earning under 2c an hour for a ten-hour day went on strike. In 1948 six Nigerian youths—Oged Macaulay, Tony Enahoro, Fred Anyiam, Ebbi Mallam and Abdallah and Osita Agwunna—were sentenced to 1½ to 3½ years in jail for uttering seditious words against His Brittannic Majesty.

LABOR BLIMPS: Last month 18 striking miners at Enegu were shot dead. "One cannot see," said the liberal **Manchester Guardian,** "that the police [who suffered no casualties] have done more than defend themselves against attack." The London **Daily Worker** (Communist) said: "These massacres are of a piece with the Gold Coast shooting last year and the Uganda massacres of last spring. 'Shoot 'em down' is no longer the slogan of Col. Blimp, but of Labor colonial policy."

Colonial Secretary Creech Jones admitted in the House of Commons: "I know of no evidence that these troubles have been fomented from outside." But the usual "Kremlin plot" charges appeared in the press, and the London **Daily Mail,** describing the current African tour of British Secret Police ("M.I.5") chief Sir Percy Sillitoe, reported:

"For the job of counter-espionage in Africa Sir Percy has been forming a secret political police force, [which will] protect the new military road . . . destined to link East and West Africa across the central African jungles.


THE AFRICAN STANDARD
Official Organ Of The West African Youth League (Sierra Leone Section)
PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY
VOL. XI No. FRIDAY OCTOBER 14, 1949
Britain And America Behaving Like Hitler And Mussolini
Both Nations Are Like Two Dogs Scrambling Over A Bone That Does Not Belong To Either of Them

The road will be used to open up the whole area for air bases and other defense measures."

CARRY ON, AMERICA: Together with secret military police from England and "aircraft loaded with police from up-country" landing in droves in the Nigerian trouble-spots, a swarm of "American specialists" has descended on West Africa.

In the Assembly of Nigeria's neighboring "protectorate" Sierra Leone, Councillor Siaka Stevens said the increasing number of these "specialists" is "causing some concern and uneasiness in responsible quarters in the Protectorate." He asked an assurance that the Africans' interests would not be jeopardized and that no concessions be made without full consultation with the Assembly.

The government's answer was that the visits were arranged "as part of the plan to take advantage of the United States' generous offer to help to speed up the development of colonial territories."

AFRICANS UNITE: In Nigeria, the most recent forms of "development" are censorship of the African press, imposition of curfew, special police powers of arrest, and banning of mass meetings in Lagos (the capital) and Ibadan. But a London **Daily Mirror** correspondent reported:

"With African political and labor organizations sinking their differences into a united front to demand the trial of those reasponsible for the Enegu shooting, further riots are possible."

He referred to the National Emergency Committee, under the presidency of Dr. Akinola Maja of Lagos, which embraces sections of the Nigerian Youth Movement and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons led by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, a member of the Nigerian Legislative Council.

MIND THE ELEPHANT: In a letter to the London **Economist** on Nov. 26, Dr. Azikiwe said: "The leaders of India, Ceylon and Burma were described in the British press as 'naked fakirs,' 'jail birds,' 'irresponsible agitators,' etc. Today they are being feted by British royalty. Now Malayan Nationalists are being described as 'bandits' and Nigerian Nationalists are labeled 'extremists' and 'communists.' We should not be expected to anticipate any friendly and sympathetic attitude towards our nationalist aspirations from the British press.

"Do not make the mistake of thinking that African leaders, like Nehru, will forget these humiliations. The African elephant never forgets."

ITALY, AUSTRIA

Crime: anti-fascism

THIS is what is happening to yesterday's heroes:

- Giorgio Amendola, Communist, and Sandro Pertini, left-wing Socialist: On March 23, 1944, they led an attack on a Nazi Elite Guard column in Nazi-occupied Rome, killed 32 SS men; in reprisal Hitler personally ordered 320 hostages shot. Decorated by the Italian government and eleeted to Parliament.

Today, Amendola, Pertini and four other partisans are being sued for damages by relatives of ten of the hostages shot on Hitler's orders. The relatives say the attack on the Nazis was "illegal."

- Hans Greif, railroad worker, Gottlieb Herneth, policeman, Rudolf Klinecz, cabinet maker, and Peter Stelzer, farmer: On May 2, 1945, acting on information received from an anti-Fascist German non-commissioned officer, they raided the Austrian village of Nauders to prevent retreating Nazis from setting it on fire to destroy traces of a slave-labor camp. Killed two Nazis during the operation. Received no reward. After the war went back to their jobs.

At Innsbruck, Austria, the four partisans went before a court charged with "murder" of the two Nazis they killed during the raid. The chief witness against them was the Nazi who ran the Nauders slave labor camp. They were acquitted—then, on the protest of the attorney general, who was an active Nazi, put back in jail. The German NCO has been arrested by authorities in Bavaria, U. S. zone of Germany.

You'll find stories in the GUARDIAN you'll find in no other paper.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

This week Dollar Stretcher reports on products tested by Consumers Union, publisher of "Consumers Reports," 38 E. First St., New York 3, N. Y.

Automatic toasters

OF 21 models of automatic toasters tested, one qualified as a best buy by reason of performance, construction and price. Toasters were tested to determine speed and evenness of toasting, range from light to dark, and need for preheating. Convenience features were also checked, and all toasters were put through fire and electrical safety tests. Most rated not acceptable had shock hazards.

The best buy and best model, regardless of price, was the Proctor 1468A, $15.95, a-c only. Other toasters considered acceptable and of best over-all quality were the Camfield C-3, $21.95, a-c or d-c; General Electric 129T81, $21.50, a-c or d-c; and Toastmaster 1B14, $21.50, a-c or d-c.

NON-AUTOMATIC: Non-automatic toasters lack many conveniences which automatic models offer, and to many consumers the conveniences may be worth the extra cost. Four of the ten non-automatic toasters tested were rated not acceptable because their handles became too hot, two others because of shock hazard and table burn hazard. Check the toaster you intend to buy to make sure its doors open readily and its turning mechanism works well.

Non-automatic models found acceptable were Universal EA-2105, $7.95; Handyhot 5902, $4.95; Westinghouse TT-72 $4.95.

Table model radios

OF 32 table model radios, none was outstanding in quality. Only AM sets selling for less than $30 were included in the project. All sets presented some degree of shock hazard, and four were rated not acceptable because of short-circuit hazard.

The two sets judged to offer greatest value per dollar were Ward's Airline, Cat. No. 1527M, $17.95 plus shipping, and Admiral 5X12-N, $16.95. The Ward's set was also at the top of the acceptable list for quality, followed by RCA 8X521, $24.95; Philco 50-522, Code 121, $22.95; and Westinghouse H124, $24.95.

Children's records

BEFORE buying children's records, be sure they play at a speed for which the recipient has a player. For example, the standard speed is 78 revolutions per minute, but there are new long-playing records, 33⅓ and 45 r.p.m, which require special players. Consumers Union's consultant on children's records recommends a number of companies producing inexpensive records, most of them unbreakable (all records listed below are standard speed):

LITTLE GOLDEN RECORDS: 25c, seven-inch unbreakable. Outstanding are **The Taxi That Hurried** and **Hansel and Gretel Dance**, No. 15; **Old MacDonald Had A Farm** and **The Owl and the Pussy Cat**, No. 16; **Turkey in the Straw** and **O, Susanna**, No. 17.

LINCOLN RECORDS: 25c and 35c, seven and ten-inch unbreakable. Generally liked in the Teddy Bear series (35c, ten-inch) are **Row, Row, Row Your Boat** and **Little Boy Blue, No. 202**; **Whoopee-Ti-Yo-Yo** and **Lone Prairie**, No. 206; and **Pop Goes the Weasel** and **Pied Piper**, No. 211. Popular in the Bobolink series (25c, seven-inch) are **Alphabet Song** and **Old Mother Hubbard**, No. 351; **Chicken Licken** and **The Muffin Man**, No. 354; **Ride A Cock Horse** and **Over In the Meadow**, No. 361.

KAROUSEL: 79c, unbreakable. Three participation records are **Sing a Song of Animals**, No. TC2; **Songs of Mother Goose**, No. TC1; **Songs about Kittens**, No. TC4.

CUB: 79c, ten-inch unbreakable (for 2-5 age group). Some recommendations are **Lullabies**; **Learning Songs**; **Grow, Grow and Swimmy Swim**; **Race You Down the Mountain** and **The Merry Go Round.**

The atom and us

Who will make the bright light?

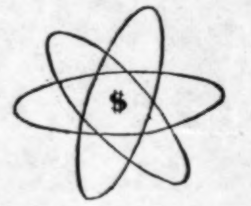
By Dr. Philip Morrison
(Physicist, Cornell University)

IN the flood of books about the atom, **Atomic Energy and Society** deserves sober reading. James Allen is perhaps the best-known U. S. writer on economics and history from the Marxist standpoint; here he applies his careful analytical method to the atom, which he plainly regards as the most powerful symbol of the basic social conflict of our time; the paradox between the immense productive forces at the disposal of man and the use he has made of them in modern warfare.

His argument is straightforward. He avoids the pitfalls of ascribing around-the-corner miracles to the atom, yet views its economic future optimistically, regarding it as a means "to extend greatly the potential power resources at the service of production." He describes forcefully the sad plight of American atomic energy, "a prisoner of war" born in secrecy and never demobilized.

MASK FOR MONOPOLY: He views the MacMahon Act and the Atomic Energy Commission, which administers the government-owned atomic industry, as merely the facade of state ownership behind which private monopoly control continues, though in fluid and unsettled form. The state power, in whose hands the atomic energy program rests, he finds no barrier against the inhibiting force of monopoly, unwilling to risk investment, preventing the increase of productive capacity in the light of expected crisis, satisfied with the bombs as part of an aggressive foreign policy.

Allen's most original ideas concern the state-owned U. S. hydroelectric plants—the TVA and comparable projects. He believes these arise, in a monopoly-dominated economy, out of the conflict of interests which finds profit for some sectors of big business in such schemes. His most telling statistical point is the fact that since 1920 hydro power has grown less rapidly than has steam power. But he does not point out that since the late 1920's hydro power, mostly government-owned, has in fact made a relative gain. He concludes that a state-owned U. S. atomic energy industry, while it might come after some delay, cannot fully realize the potential of atomic energy. Here it is plain that progressives have something to say. A government whose policy was not a war policy, which made power and peace—not bomb power—its goal, might yet successfully take control of the atom in the interest of all Americans.



WHO'LL WIN THE PEACE? Allen quite rightly finds the major international competition in the domain of atomic energy to be far wider than mere bombs; it is the whole social utilization of the new power which will be the ultimate test of the systems now facing each other in the world. One cannot doubt that history will find the nation which makes the brightest light and most abundant life for its people to be the real leader of the atomic age. That prize is yet to be won; it lies in America's path if the people will seek it.

Whether we can take the constructive path, or are committed to crisis, war and fascism will depend on the people; above all, on the strength and unity of progressives. Allen's critical essay is a tool in the shaping of such a movement.

ATOMIC ENERGY AND SOCIETY. International Publishers. New York, N. Y. 95 pp. 50c.

POTS & POCKETBOOKS

... and the trimmings

By Charlotte Parks

Who giveth himself with his gift
Feeds three:
Himself, his hungering neighbor and Me.

THE indispensable Christmas dinner ingredient is the guest. The cook needs an audience no less than father for his annual jokes. And most of all, the children need the gift of shared hospitality. Don't worry if your meal hasn't all the trimmings; just to sit at a family holiday table is an unpurchasable pleasure.

Flaming plum pudding

1 cup chopped suet
¾ cup bread crumbs
1 tsp. salt
½ tsp. each, cinnamon, cloves
1 medium potato (grated)
½ cup grape jelly
1 cup seedless raisins
1 cup chopped mixed dried fruit
¼ cup chopped nuts
½ cup evaporated milk
1 tsp. baking powder
flour for stiff batter

Grease container heavily and boil for three hours. Reheat for one hour. If you have any left over, it can be reheated a week hence. Serve with either hard sauce or California sauce.

Hard sauce

½ cup margarine (or butter)
½ cup powdered sugar
1 tsp. vanilla

Mix with a fork till light and fluffy, place on fancy dish and sprinkle lightly with nutmeg.

California sauce

Juice 1 orange
Juice ½ lemon and grated peel
1 tsp. margarine
½ cup sugar
2 tsp. cornstarch
½ cup water

AH! THE FLAME! Pour on top of the pudding a tablespoon of "hard likker." When it is brought in, turn off the lights, pull down the blinds and apply a match. The eerie blue and yellow flames, the excited ohs and ahs of the kids and grownups will literally end your Christmas dinner in a blaze of glory.

CALENDAR

New York

ORIENTAL BAZAAR: Do your Christmas shopping for silks, jades, jewelry, linens, woodcuts, etc., and help China Welfare Appeal. Chinese artist doing brush sketches, Chinese refreshments and entertainment, Thurs., Dec. 15, 8:30 p.m. Sub. $1. Dec. 16, 17, 11 a.m.-12 p.m., sub. 25c. 555 Madison Av., Apt. 4 South (55th-56th St.)

RECEPTION honoring Harry Sacher, defense attorney in trial of the 11 American Communist leaders, Sun., Dec. 11, 8:30 p.m., Manhattan Towers Hotel, 76th St. and Broadway.

Chicago

PARTY AND BALLET MOVIE for civil rights, Sat., Dec. 17, 8 p.m., at The Goldmans, 520-A Surf St., buffet dinner. Contribution 85c.

PEORIA ST. PROTESTS: South Side Rally Against Mob Violence, jointly sponsored by PP 3rd, 4th, 6th, 20th Ward Clubs, Fri., Dec. 16, 8 p.m., Packinghouse Workers Center, 49th & Wabash. Speakers: Sidney Ordower, Earl B. Dickerson, Aaron Bindman, Herbert March of Packinghouse Workers. Big Bill Broonzy will entertain. All-day conference by Chicago Branch NAACP, Sat., Dec. 17, Parkway Community Center. Mass meeting Sun., Dec. 18, Metropolitan Community Church. Rabbi Morton Berman and Earl Dickerson, speakers.

The Quiet One

The prize-winning documentary film, **The Quiet One**, will be available March 1 for 16 mm. projection through Athena Films, 165 W. 46th St., New York 19, N Y. Produced originally by Film Documents, it portrays the delinquency of a sensitive Negro boy and the role of social psychiatry in overcoming it. Harlem and its people form the backdrop of the story.

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray Street, New York 7

'This land is mine!' A drama of modern Italy

Hungry, land-hungry men! Oklahoma saw such scenes in the land rush of 1889; Italy is seeing them now. To thousands of poor peasants Premier Alcide de Gasperi has been promising land ever since U. S. dollars brought the elections for Italian conservatives in 1946. Tired of talk, peasants in Sicily and southern Italy acted. Here some of them rush to occupy 404 acres of uncultivated land belonging to landowner Salvatore Cocuzza at San Pietro, Sicily. In the first mass-squatting on private land at Crotone, Italy, in October, police fired on the peasants, killing three and wounding 12.

Some of the landless farmers ride muleback as they take over unused land at San Pietro. This time the government ordered police to leave the squatters alone. U. S. press correspondents were "revealing" last week that the land rush was a Communist plot: de Gasperi was going to give the peasants land anyway; the reds had goaded them into action to make political capital.

Losing no time in starting to clear the land, the squatters share a local joke about the late unlamented Duce of Fascist Italy. It was in the San Pietro area that Mussolini in 1925 proclaimed he would build a city to be called "Mussolinia." The money for the project disappeared, the city was never built. How much better are de Gasperi's promises?

Sleeping on the ground they have taken over in their desperation, the peasants do not even have the comfort of a blanket. Under Duce or de Gasperi, whether the label "Fascist" is on the government or not, the taste of abject poverty is the same; whether in Italy or China, the taking of land by those who will work it is a "red plot."

After preliminary clean-up work on his new piece of ground, an elderly peasant takes a wash and uses a makeshift towel. In Rome, de Gasperi promised action "soon" on distribution of 100,000 acres.

Labor's Xmas

Christmas cards for the labor movement with sayings that carry a true seasonal message for the working man—quotations from Debs, Lincoln and FDR and drawing by Ben Yomen—are on the market. The more you buy the cheaper they are. Write to Irving Richter Associates, 4277 Seebaldt Detroit 4, Mich. (TYler 7-8187) f-- specific information.

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